## WASHINGTON, D. C.

[COPYRIGHT SECURED BY THE AUTHOR.] For the National Era THE LEGAL TENURE OF SLAVERY.

LETTER XXXII. THE CONSTITUTIONAL CLAIMS OF LIBERTY CONTRASTED WITH THE PRETENSIONS OF

SLAVERY-" PERSONS HELD TO SERVICE AND

To the Friends of American Liberty : In the preceding letters, it has been shown that each of the declared objects of the Constitu tion, sir in number, demands for its attainment, under the Constitution, and by its administration, a Federal abolition of Slavery. Eight of the direct provisions of the Constitution have been found expressly adapted to the accomplishment of that end. Three of these are general prohibitions of Slavery, whether under the National or State Governments, including (in the habeas corpus) a provision for the liberation of all slaves. Four of them are prohibitions, directed expressly to the States. And one of them is a guaranty to liberty in the States, by the National Government itself.

These are the constitutional claims of Liberty against Slavery. These are all unambiguous and plain, "expressed with irresistible clear-They harmonize with the declared objects of the Constitution in the preamble—with "the fundamental principles of the Revolution," as set forth in the Declaration of Indépendence-with the definition of a Republican Government-with the time-honored maxims of common law-with the law of nature, as understood by the wise men of all nations and ageswith the law of God, as revealed in the Biblewith the dietates of conscience and the deduc tions of right reason-with the mission of civil Government and the nature of civil law. They likewise harmonize with the general scope, structure, and spirit, of the Constitution itselfwith the temper and aims of the statesmen who drafted it, and of the generation of men who adopted it. They are such as are demanded by the wants of human nature, by the necessi ties of society, by the interests of the nation, by the onward progress of the species.

If there be anything in the Constitution is favor of Slavery, it is in opposition to all these, and must be disposed of, in the light of that consideration. If found in the Constitution at all, it will be found there as a discrepancy, an anomaly, a disturbing force, an element of defeat and distraction. We are to inquire, now, schether it be found in the instrument. In this inquiry we must be guided by just

"The intention of the instrument must prevail. This intention must be collected from the words."-Supreme Court of the United

States, 12 Wheaton, 332. "Where rights are infringed, where fundamental principles are overthrown, where the general system of laws is departed from, the egislative intention must be expressed with irresistible clearness, to induce a court of justice to suppose a design to effect such objects." United States Supreme Court.

Another well-established rule is, to construct

the minor and doubtful details of an instrument, in the light of its main scope and declared or ascertained character and objects. The smaller or the doubtful, must never control the greater or the indisputable, but, vice versa. "It is a maxim in law, that the construction of a law shall not work an injury." —Coke, Lagt-

"If the words of a statute be obscure, they shall be expounded most strongly for the publie good."—Plowden.
"The rehearsal or preamble of the statute is

a good mean to find out the meaning of the statute, and, as it were, a key to the the understanding thereof."-Coke, Lyttleton. "The intention of the Legislature is to be deduced from the title, and the whole and every part of the statute taken and compared to-

Interpretation of Statutes.
I might quote much more, of similar import, but will only add the well-known common law rule, that "where the question is doubtful, the decision must be in favor of Liberty."

Yet, (as in the previous discussions,) the pro-slavery advocates shall have their choice be tween the letter and the spirit of the Constitution-between "strict construction" and the meaning and intent, in any reasonable way in which it can be ascertained.

The claims of Liberty against Slavery, as we

have seen, are found to be sustained by all the six specifications of the preamble, also by eight of the direct provisions of the Constitution—making fourteen in all—each one of which, by itself, is sufficient to warrant (and most of them And now we come to inquire after the constitutional pretensions of the Slavery party. And what do we find? After all their bluster about recognitions, compromises, and guaranties," we are unable to enumerate more than three specifications ever adduced by them! One of these expired in 1808, by its own limitation. Another of them, by their own interpretation of presentation while Slavery continues, and rposes no barrier against the Federal abolition of Slavery, demanded by the fourteen specifications just mentioned. The remaining one, by their own interpretation of it, avails them nothing, except for the rendition of fugitives from Slavery while the practice of slaveholding continues, but says nothing agricul its termination by the Federal Government, under the provisions I have alread brought forward. So far as my arguments hitherto, and the conclusions reached by them, are concerned, I a proving might affer a follet the Slavery party have their people. own construction of the clauses adduced by them, in their own way. My arguments and is readily explained. The Convention was sit-

vithout which the South would not have come into the Union. I deny it, and challenge the proof. But, for the present moment, and for the argument's sake, I will suppose it to have been so, and ask for the bottom line of it.

You say, gentlemen of the South, there was (A good illustration, by the bye, of the "buying

"a compromise." Be it so. A "compromise" supposes something relinquished on both sides. You say the North relinquished something in this compromise. Very well; what did the North relinquish? You say it relinquished the right of the Federal Government to touch the slave trade, and (by implication) the institution ompromise," has it not? that the North relinquished the right of an equal representation of inhabitants, giving the possibly from New York or New Jersey,) should South an advantage. Be it so, if you please. The North has kept this part of the "comproinquished the right of protecting fugitive slaves. Be it so, if you please. The North, for the most part, has fulfilled this part of the compromise," has it not? There have been exceptions, you will say. That is true. There have not ceased insisting that this part of the pers, rol. 3, pp. 1,429-30. "compromise" shall be observed, even after your own "Missouri Compromise" has been

you suppose the Slavery party relinquished in this "compromise?" Look at the Constitution What was it, what could it have been, but the specifications I have adduced against Slavery, and in favor of Freedom? Undoubtedly, if there were any "compro

" in the Constitution, on the Slavery question, they lay in the direction above indicated. The action of the Federal Government against Slavery was to be deferred for twenty years, (on the theory of a compromise,) giving the States needed in this case, for nothing "doubtful" the theory of a compromise,) giving the States ample time for the removal of the evil in their own way, and, in the mean time, allowing the tes the two other advantages now claimed by them. And, just as certainly as there were any "compromises" at all, they in-cluded the Federal abolition of Slavery, after the twenty years respite had expired. It is well known that the abolition of the slave trade, at that time, was understood to involve the abion of Slavery itself. If there was any compromise" made, its fulfilment requires abolition of Slavery by the Federal Government. But the Nehraska Bill reveals to us the fact that slaveholders hold sacred only one side

the Constitution in favor of Slavery, if the strament be interpreted by the established gal rules, as already cited.

lation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due."-Art. 4, Sec. 2, Clause 3.

By the rule of "strict construction," this cannot apply to slaves. It does not describe them, nor their condition. It relates to "persons." But slaves are held as things, not as persons. Nothing can be "due" from slaves, for they "can make no contract." Slaves are not held to service and labor, according to the try. Its grievance is the Personal Liberty Bill. slave code. They are only held as "chattels." They are not held "under the laws" of the States, for there are no State laws enslaving them, or holding them to service. This was understood by Senator Mason, of Virginia, when he objected to Mr. Dayton's proposed amendment to the Fugitive Slave Bill, providing for a jury trial. This, in fact, he affirmed:

"A trial by jury," said Mr. Mason, "necessarily carries with it a TRIAL OF THE WHOLE RIGHT, AND A TRIAL OF THE RIGHT TO SERVICE will be gone into, according to the control of the control cording to the forms of the Court, in determining upon any other fact."

And why should not this be done? The clause of the Constitution under which it is

pretended the Congress has power to enact such statutes, says explicitly that the "persons" to be "dalivered up" must be such as are held to labor in a State, "under the laws thereof." Let us hear Mr. Mason further:

"Then, again, it is proposed, as a part of the proof to be adduced at the hearing, after the

fugitive has been recaptured, that evidence shall be produced by the claimant that Slavery is established in the State from which the fugi tive has absconded. Now, this very thing, in a recent case in the city of New York, was required by one of the judges of that State, which case attracted the attention of the authorities of Maryland, and against which they protested," &c. "In that case, the State Judge went so far as to say that the only mode of proving it was by a reference to the statute Such proof is required by the Senator's amendment; and if he means, by this, that proof shall be brought that Slavery is estab-lished by EXISTING LAWS, it is impossible to comply with the requisition, FOR NONE SUCH CAN BE PRODUCED, I apprehend, IN ANY OF THE SLAVE STATES. I am not aware that there is a single State in which the institution is established by Positive LAW. On a former occasion, and on a different topic, it was my duty to attempt to show the Senate that no ich law was necessary for its establishment CERTAINLY NONE COULD BE FOUND, and none was required in any of the States of the Union."-[Copied from the Washington

We have here the direct and explicit admision-nay, rather, the earnest declaration-of Mr. Mason, that slaves are Nor "held to service and labor under the laws" of any of the slave States. And this is tantamount to an admission and declaration that this clause of South is compelled to withdraw from a Govadmission and declaration that this clause of the Constitution does not and cannot apply to ernment which is fast becoming her greatest laves; and consequently that it contains no enemy; in either event, our real relations with the bill he was urging upon the Senate was without any foundation or authority in the clause and our enemies, our enemies. before us-the only one ever adduced in its

The statement of Mr. Mason furthermore onfirms, in particular, the remark I made near the beginning of this letter, (and had illustrated n a former one,) that the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus, secured in the Constitution, is a provision adequate to secure "the liberation of all slaves." That writ secures a trial have said shall be cause for dissolution; and by jury; and a jury trial, says Mr. Mason, requires that evidence be produced that "Slavery the action of that House will be as potent as if quires that evidence be produced that "Slavery is established in the State from whence the fugitive has absconded "-and "none such can be produced." The fugitive, of course, would have to be set free; and, therefore, the jury trial, and the legal scrutiny before the Courts, must not be permitted!\*

I have another witness to bring upon the

to free persons. The use of the word "service," instead of "servitude," shows this, for the Convention itself had thus defined their own understanding and use of the two words: " Art. 1, Sec. 2. On motion of Mr. Randolph, word "service" unanimously inserted—the former being thought to express the condition of slaves, and the latter the obligations of free persons."—Madison Papers, vol. 3, p. 1,569.
So that, if slaves had been intended in the clause before us, the word "scrvitude" would have been used, instead of "service." now stands, ("no person held to service or labor,") it can only apply to "the obligations of free persons," such as apprentices, free la-borers, contractors, and persons owing debts which they had agreed to pay in labor. vice and labor" would be "due" from such. And they would be "held to service and labor under the laws of the State."

Another historical fact decides the question "intentions." Not one of the original plans of a Constitution mentioned the return of fugi tive slaves; nor was it mentioned until within it, touches nothing but the apportionment of twenty days before the close of the Convention. The clause, when its insertion was first moved. contained the word "slave," and was strenuously opposed on that account. The next day it was offered again, with the offensive word struck out, and, in its present form "it was unanimously!" †-proof positive that the Con-vention refused to insert a clause for the rendition of fugitive slaves! And no one who knows the Anti-Slavery sentiment of that period believes that a Constitution with such a provision could have been adopted by the

The real occasion of the clause, as it stands,

ing in Philadelphia, where large numbers of immigrants, especially from Germany, were being introduced. Many, or most of them, had no money to pay their passage. They had contracted to pay it in labor, and, on arrival, were advertised and sold at auction, (that is, their "service and labor" were sold,) for a limited period, to the citizens and neighboring farmers. and selling" of servants in former times, and among the Hebrews.) But numbers of these "German redemptioners," as they were called, "escaped into another State," and thus evaded the payment of the "service and labor due" in thereof.' The frequency and extent of these dep redations became a matter of serious complaint please. The North has kept this part of the as is well known. It was not strange that a constitutional remedy was sought; nor that some have thought it desirable to include "slaves," in the same clause. But the attempt was mise," has it not? You say, finally, the North promptly and successfully repulsed. No fugi ceive, the vote of that Convention, of whos deliberations we have this record :

"Mr. Madison thought it wrong to introdu , you will say. That is true. There in the Constitution the idea that THERE only exceptions to general rules. You COULD be property in man."—Madison Pa-

This celebrated clause, therefore, whether examined by the maxims of "strict construc tion," the rule of the Supreme Court, "the spirit of the Constitution," words, or the contemporaneous history, is proved to be no warranty, much less a requisition, for the rendition of fugitive "SLAVES." words." So far from being "expressed with irre sistible clearness," there is no semblance of its expression at all. There is proof of a pointblank refusal to express it. The rule of construction of "doubtful" passages, (by the main presents itself.

Thus falls the apocryphal fugitive "slave clause of the Constitution, the chief of the two pretended "compromises" of that noble but much-abused instrument.

THE SOUTH. ONE FACE.

MASSACHUSETTS TO BE EXPELLED FROM THE The moderate and discreet Richmond (Va.) Enquirer is of opinion that Southern members at the next Congress should turn Massachusetts out of the Union. We hope they will

"The slaveholding States can no longer, with safety, delay to act. What course shall they oursue? This is a grave question, but it must be promptly and resolutely met. If the act of Massachusetts goes into effect, it will be the duty of the South to resist the entrance of the nembers of either branch of Congress from that State into the Capitol, until it is expunged that State into the Capitol, until it is expunged from her code book! The South remains in the child of the other? Wisdom and discre its bearing to the North precisely where it stood when Washington first entered upon his Presidential duties. It has never been guilty of the slightest aggression on any one of the so-called free States. From this position it

must not swerve a line.

"The metropolis of the Republic is located within its limits. That metropolis it must control, and expel therefrom the Goths and Vantage of the control of the co dals who are undermining our great political edifice. No member of either House who comes from a State which sets at defiance a constitutional provision, or a law palpably in conformity with that constitutional provision, should be permitted to take his seat.'

> THE HOUR COME. From the Montgomery (Ala.) Mail

" The Temper of the South,-Concerning the Slavery question, the South has not been, for many years, in so quiet a mood. There is a perfect placidity of sentiment throughout the slave States. We have no indignation meetings, no torrents of declamation and de-nunciation, no fiery, threatening resolutions. For all these, there is a deep calm. And the reason is, that at length, after decades of bick erings, the whole section is agreed that the day is at hand! At length, at length, and for the first time in many a long year, the South occupies her position, untrammelled by thrice-so cursed 'compromises,' and looking only to the Constitution for the measure of her rights. For the first time, too, she sees her fanatical ene-mies clothed with full power to do their will n the House of Representatives of the United States. And thus there is made, for the first time, the true issue between the North and the

question; but it is glorious that it is to be de ided; that a few short months will give the conflict its culmination; and that, whether the hordes of Free-Soilers and Abolitionists are compromise" whatever on the subject of Sia-ry. It was equivalent to a confession that bold relief. The day of hypocrisy and duplicity will be over; our friends will be our friends,

> "There never was a time so full of hope for the South, and for the maintenance and the extension of Slavery. The wit of man could not devise for us a better relation than that which we occupy to the forces of Free-Soilism. We battle not for half our rights, but for the whole. Our enemies have ample power in one House, the deed could be carried through all the parliamentary processes necessary to make it s law. The Representatives who thus control the House are incited by frantic, howling constituencies at home. Can they recede? The South

cannot.' Brave words! Let the two Parties, Pro-Slaand squarely, and test their strength. for a fair field, an open fight, and no favors.

THE GEORGIA PLATFORM.

The Georgia Democratic Convention, which assembled at Milledgeville, on the 6th of June, after nominating, for Governor of the State, Herschel V. Johnson, passed a series of resolu-tions, which, with the exception of one or two condemning the principles of the Know Noth-ing party, relate to Slavery, and take extreme

Slavery in Kansas-Retaliation on the Free States

ground on that question. Among them are the following:

Resolved, That we approve and endorse the action of our last Congress in the passage of the Nebraska-Kansas act, and the principles therein Nebraska-Kansas act, and the principles therein established; and, in conformity with these principles, the people of Kansas have the right, when the number of their population inguites it, to form a republican State Constitution, with or mithout Slavery, as mey may determine, and be

he State of Georgia to the Union. lowing resolution, passed unanimously by the last Legislature of Georgia:

State of Georgia,) That opposition to the principles of the Nebraska bill, in relation to the subject of Slavery, is regarded by the people of Georgia as hostility to the people of the South; and that all persons who partake in such opposition are unfit to be recognised as component parts of any party or organization not hostile to

Resolved, That in accordance with the above

esolution, whilst we are willing to act in party

ssociation with all sound and reliable men in

to affiliate with any party that shall not recogall party connection with every man and party, at the North or elsewhere, that does not come up fully and fairly to this line of action. Resolved, That we sympathize with the friends of the Slavery cause in Kansas, in their manly efforts to maintain their rights, and the rights and interests of the Southern people, and we rejoice at their recent victories over the paid venturers and Jesuitical hordes of Northern Abolitionism; that the deep interest felt and taken by the people of Missouri in the settlement of Kansas, and the decision of the Slavery question in it, is both natural and proper, and

t is their right and duty to extend to their Southern brethren in that Territory every legitimate and honorable sympathy and support. Resolved, That in view of the action of the Legislatures of Massachusetts and Vermont, and the threatened action of other Northern States, virtually repealing the Fugitive Slave Law, and denying to the citizens of the South their constitutional rights, we recommend to our next Legislature the adoption of such re-taliatory measures as their wisdom may suggest,

## THE OTHER FACE.

obligations.

THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE APRICAN

A friend remarked to us, the other day, hat there was an evident disposition on the part of Southern people to improve the condition of the African in this country. We think so too. Any one who reads the history of the times must see it. We do not think that the institution of Slavery is any less stable—that there is anything like a disposition to give it up. But there is a manifest disposition to lop off the abuses of the system, and elevate the slave to the position of an intelligent servantto make him mentally and morally all that his nature and position will allow.

In proof, we make a few extracts from the papers of the day. The editor of the Southern Presbyterian says:

"We hail with special gratitude to God every indication that the interest on behalf of the spiritual welfare of our slave population is increasing in extent and favor. Let us labor on in faith and patience, regardless of the obloquy which man may cast upon us or our work, if only we may have the presence of God's Spirit as the sure token of His favor."

bath school as well as preaching. Some of the older and more experienced members of the church take part in instructing them in the

work of life. They act upon the principle that the command, 'Search the Scriptures,' is as applicable to the black man as to the white man; and therefore they take pains to teach them to read God's holy word. They meet in one part of the church, and their lessons are recited simultaneously with the rest of the school. Their deportment was orderly and quiet, and some of them make very good pro-gress in knowledge. Would it not be well for our churches to follow this example? If we believe Presbyterian Christian training is best for the white man, is it not for the colored man? If the child of the one needs the preaching of the Gospel, and Sabbath school influences, to lead him to fulfil faithfully the duties tion may in some places modify the practice, but the principle would lead us to labor zealously for the salvation of the servant as well as the master, that they might both become the servants of Christ." The Old School Presbytery of Newcastle which embraces a portion of Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland, have established a high

school, called the Ashmun Institute, concerning which the late General Assembly adopted the following resolutions, which passed without opposition, to wit: " Resolved, That this General Assembly has heard with pleasure of the design and practi-cal effort, on the part of the Presbytery of New-castle, to establish a school in which colored young men of piety may receive a thorough classical and theological education, fitting them for the work of the ministry, and for teaching

among the destitute thousands of this country and the millions of Africa. "Resolved, That we regard this work as an mportant preliminary work, aiming at the highest good of the African race, wherever found; and hereby express our cordial appro-bation of it, and recommend our churches cheerfully and liberally to co-operate in this work of faith and labor of love.'

These are a few of the signs of the times.

AS ONE INCREASES, THE OTHER DECREASES.

From the Wheeling (Va.) Gazette, May 31st Mr. Wise says truly that our hills are full o ower in coal, and that the water from our ountain ranges runs waste to the ocean. No busy hums of mills are heard; no men, women and children, are engaged in product. Our valleys and ravines are not the arenas of busy life but silence and death pervade all except where here and there the power of nature has com-pelled, and is compelling, a predominance over the institution, and bringing in men from the North to manufacture. Compare the census of 1840 with that of 1850, and you find the decrease of Slavery in contain countries. of Slavery in certain counties bears just a pro-portion to the increase of the products of agriculture, manufactures, mining, commerce, churches, schools, intelligence, and happiness. It is as plain as that the absence of the sun produces night. Manufactures, mining, and commerce, rise as Slavery sinks. It is necessari ly so, for the negroes have little capacity; and the fact that their existence as a class takes from labor its dignity and honor, instils idleness or want of practical application on the part of whites who have them, and prevents those com ing in who have them not.
In agriculture, Mr. Wise justly declared the

great power that Virginia possessed was abused. The soil and climate of Virginia are among the richest and finest in the world; and is there any other reason why it should not be the most productive, than that it is mainly farmed by slaves who have no interest in the soil, and wear i out without remanerative product? Hancock Brooks, and Ohio counties are not of better soi than other counties in the State, nor have they part of the statute taken and compared together."—Kent, vol. 1, Lecture 20; Rules for an examination of the census. They are better farmed, for they are farmed with white labor. They would be still better farmed, could they have an entire population who regarded labor as honorable, healthy, and wise.

Take the four counties of Brooke, Hancock, Ohio, and Marshall, and if the State would allow them to purchase and pay from the county treasury a fair price for every slave in them, and enact that no more should be brought in, in five years the actual wealth of these counties would be increased \$50,000,000, or \$1,340 for doing this, it would produce a republicanism and universal education that can never exist in a sparse population, and where one portion are

admitted in the Union on an equal footing temptible of all tinkling cymbals and baubles with the other States; and that her rejection by that ever idiots played with? We have never Congress, on account of Slavery, would be a just approached with the idea of violating or oppo-cause for the disruption of all the ties that bind sing a law of Virginia, we have never discussed and never expect to discuss Slavery in its moral sense. We leave that to the owners of them. It is a matter for them to settle between themselves and their God. We do not interfere \*\* Resolved, (by the General Assembly of the ate of Georgia,) That opposition to the prin-selves. We discuss only its bearing upon those sections of the State and those people in the State who have none, and the progress and development of the State and its capacities for improvement; and yet that public slanderer the Richmond Enquirer, accuses us of aboli-tionism, or a more bitter hatred of Slavery than that manifested by the New York Tribune. We leave the reader to judge from the facts who are the truest citizens of Virginia—they who see its glory crumbling day by day under every section of the Union, we are not willing the pressure of an imbecile misnamed Democracy, complaining of its degeneracy, but giving nise, approve, and carry out, the principles and provisions of the Nebraska-Kansas act; and that the Democratic party of Georgia will cut off reason for decay that is manifest to all, and propose the practical mode of colonization on state account, or the provision for prospective

From the National Intelligencer, June 7th

AMELIORATION OF SLAVERY The Port Gibson (Mississippi) Reveille says "The project now being agitated by the people of North Carolina, and soon to be carried before the Legislature of that State, is one which, we think, to say the least of it, will create a sensation. It is, lst, to render legal the institution of marriage among slaves; 2d, to preserve sacred the relations and their young children; and, 3d, to repeal the laws prohibiting the education of slaves. If this modification in the laws is made in North Carolina, as we are informed it probably will, consideration. The main features of the movement have been adopted in practice, or at least improved in theory, by nearly all our planters, so far as circumstances would allow; and we cannot but think the modification is well worth the serious consideration of every Southern man. Should the Southern people think prop-er, after due investigation, to adopt the regula-tion in each of the slave States, Slavery will then be regarded in an entire new light, and the enimies of the institution will be robbed of their most fruitful and plausible excuses for agitation and complaint. There may be, howanswered in the adoption of such a modific tion. We therefore leave the subject open for future consideration, and, in the mean time, in

Some interesting statistics in relation to the chances of life in the different occupations are given in the twelfth Annual Report on Births as recently submitted to the Legislature o

Occupation,			1	Vhole No.	Av.
Agriculturists	*	*		7,735	64.
aborers	×			4,493	44.
Mechanics		*		7,781	46.
Merchants	2		-	1,494	46.
Paupers				262	67.
Professional men -				841	49.
Public men				838	50.
Seamen	*			1,857	53.
Total		2		25,301	51.
Females				2,068	46.
	-				

FUGITIVES FROM SERVICE.

"No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping to other, shall, in consequence of any law or reguother, shall, in consequence of any law or reguother, shall, in consequence of any law or regu
ssuch; but none, I apprehend, that undertake to create them slaves. Master and slave are constantly regarded as pre-existing relations.

A correspondent of the Presbyterian Witness, published in Knoxville, Tennessee, says:

When Allen and thus are almost fit the mercy of their leaders, When Allen and his emit (post paid) on application.

The Presbyterian Church of Jonesborough or amount as useful.

Steam Music.—A Worcester, Mass., paper says one of their enterprising mechanics has invented the art of rendering steam whistles of the presbyterian Church of Jonesborough or application.

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BOOK AND PAMPHLET PRINTING executed or any law or regulation.

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BUELL & BLANCHARD, 496 Sixth street.

From the New York Tribune. OUR SECRET POLITICAL SOCIETIES.

According to the exponents of what is termed the Native American party, it claims to have been originated by the first founders of our na-tionality, and to have existed under the name of Federalism subsequent to the passage of the Alien and Sedition Laws in 1798. Whether or not the Federalists were imbued with the true principles of Hindooism, it would be unnecessary for us to inquire; it is sufficient to knowglancing only at the origin and progress of se cret societies—that the first organization of a proscriptive character was that termed the Columbian Order, or Sons of St. Tammany. At the time of its formation, this was undoubtedly a Native association of the most sectarian kind; but of the changes which have taken place in its character since then, it is scarcely necessary to speak. Every one who knows anytiing of politics is aware that Saint Tamnany is now the patron saint of the Democratparty. But for a long time, the Native associations did not increase very rapidly in number. The mysterious Order of Red Men made its appearance in 1836, and at one period num-bered about two thousand members in this city. It had for its device a Death's Head, with a hand grasping a knife. This ridiculous emblem was characteristic of the exaggeration and bombast which predominated in the Order. After a feeble existence of a few years, this organization became extinct.
The Native American revival, which lasted

from 1842 to 1845, is doubtless well remembered by the mass of our readers. The Order of United Americans was born in this city during that excitement, and at one period assumed to hold a balance of power in the local elections.

The principal originators of this Society wete—
Jared Bancker, now Grand Secretary of the Order; Thomas R. Whitney, Passed Grand Sachem; Robert De Witt, Francis B. Striker, of Brooklyn; and Simeon Baldwin, of New Haven. At the present time, the O. U. A.'s number about sixty Chapters, and have an existence in five States. Jacob Broom, of Pennsylvania, J. B. Cleveland, and C. W. Dickenson, of Newark, are among the latest converts to this phase of Nativism. With respect to journals, the Philadelphia Sun was the first to advocate the prin ciples of the party. The conduct of that paper was then intrusted to Lewis C. Levin—or, as he was known in Natchez, Levy—who took quite an active part in the Kensington riots, which resulted in the death of Shiffler. In New York, the party was supported by kindred organs. Ned Buntline's Own and The Sachem were during their brief existence, regarded as the shining lights of so-called Americanism. Messrs. Judson, Picton, North, and their asso ciates, held fast to the Order while it was proftable to do so, and only abandoned it when onvinced that public credulity with reference o themselves was completely exhausted. The seal and emblem of the O. U. A. is hand grasping a snake. The badge worn in

white, and blue, ornamented with thirteen silver stars—the original number of States. There are also distinctive badges of blue and silver worn by the sachems and officers of Chancery. Divisions, caused by the intolerance of leaders ave been frequent in this body, as indeed the have been in everyother political faction which has attempted to work in secrecy and darkness. The society called United American Mechanics was originated by seceders from the Order; and ubsequently another branch took root in Pennylvania, known as the United Sons of America. n both, however, the character and purpose

Chapter-rooms and on parade is a sash of red

ed by three persons: William L. Bradbury, a Hunker Democrat; S. S. Austin, Soft; and Charles B. Allen, Silver Gray. Bradbury, the principal man of the party, has since deceased, and his remains now occupy a lowly grave in the Potter's Field. The first of the councils, or lodges as they were then called, was organized in the Eleventh Ward, and was presided over by Charles B. Allen, who wrote the ritual and by laws necessary to work upon. The Order did not increase very rapidly during the first three or four years of its existence; and it was not intil the spring of 1853 that it assumed any importance as a political body. At that time it was in the hands of a clique led by Chauncey Shaffer, and was represented by a small daily paper called *The Budget*, edited by H. F. Farrington, now Grand Secretary. The original ritual had been revised during this time; and a new form of initiation was invented by John E. Elliott, then occupying the office of Grand Sec-retary in the Order. A star, with the number 67 in the center, was the acknowledged emblem, except in the Grand Council, the members of which wore a regalia consisting of a small rosette with ribbons of red, white, and blue, and a small silver star with a red centre. The number on the star was in commemoration of the age to which Washington had attained at the time

of his decease-sixty-seven years. About two months previous to the elections of 1853, Mr. James W. Barker, who had been for some time a member of the Order, was in tiated into the third degree. A delegation con sisting of Dr. Beecher, of New York, J. E. Ellott, and Joseph Hiss, of Baltimore, (since, however, better known in Boston,) called upon Mr. Barker at his residence, and administered the obligations. The ceremony, as we have been informed, was of a very affecting character. We copy a portion of the third degree ob

firm) that you will not vote for any one 5 fill any office of honor or profit or trust, of a Political character, whom you know or believe to be in favor of a dissolution of the Union of these States, or who is endeavoring to produce that result; that you will vote for and support for all political offices Third or Union Degree members of this Order in preference to all others; that, if it may be done consistently will the Constitution and laws of the land, you will, when appointed to any official station which may confer on you the power to do so, remove from office or place all persons whom you know or believe to be in favor of a dissolution of the Union, or who are endeavoring to produc that such person to any political office or blace whatever. All this you promise and sweet, (or affirm,) upon your honor as American ci izens and friends of the American Union, to si stain and abide by, without any hesitation or n'ental reservation whatever. You also promise and swear (or affirm) that this and all other o' liga-tions which you have previously taken if this Order, shall ever be kept sacred and invidate. To all this you pledge your lives, your fortunes, and your sacred honors. So help you Goe; and keep your steadfast."

The operations of this "wheel wit in a wheel," which still exist in the Know No hing party, can be readily understood. The nemers of the Third Degree exert an aut ority

bers of the Third Degree exert an aut ority quite as despotic as that of the Czar. Only members of this degree can be nominated for office, and they have monopolized every position of emolument or trust in the organization.

The Guard of Liberty and Order of the American Star sprang into existence the dissensions in the ranks of the great of dissensions and distinct articulation of speech is restored. This important change is effected by having the reak them that proving the teeth and no ordinary force in masticating can be deat strength is obtained by thes uniting the Teeth.

4th. A clear and distinct articulation of speech is restored. This i population. Its device was a shield bear ng a single star. The object of this Society was to bring sectionalism and bigotry into our rullitia affairs, but the attempt proved to be a complete failure. The Order of the American Stai owes the animal specific of several years past. A its origin to a young man named Patten who tarted it in the spring of 1853, in the fourth ward. The emblem worn by its members was a gold star, on which was engraved the letter A. This organization was better known as the

We have now enumerated all the nati'e Soristies of every degree which were called into existence during the late era of bigotry and proscription. The Sons of the Sires have changed the name of their association to the Su-preme Order of the Star-Spangled Bannir, but they have of late allowed themselves to get into lebt in this city to the amount of ten or twelve

ferent States it was destined to subserve. It was intended to be altogether sectional in its character, but it is now aiming at all the importance of a national movement. Whether this purpose is to be accomplished, remains

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